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A Tricentennial Review and Comments on the "God Preserve..." Elephant Tokens

by

Frank Stelmle
Wanamassa, NJ

(TN-162)



Although the "God preserve Carolina etc. ..." and "God preserve New England," and by common association with the elephant dies, "God preserve London," copper¹ pieces have been included as collectable American colonials for over a century, we know very little about them. Because 1994 may have been their tricentennial, assuming the validity of the 1694 issuance date on the two reverses, it is a good time to review what is known or has been discussed about them. In some readings of American colonial histories² I found new information regarding the people and commercial companies who might have been involved in the production of this colonial series. Other information has come to light that could support existing theories or suggest new hypotheses regarding this series. This paper reviews and summarizes what has been discussed previously about these pieces. It brings out some new possible associations, explanations, and additional hypotheses for discussion as well.

There have been many speculative opinions about these pieces in English and American numismatics. One of the first descriptions and discussions of these pieces as an American "colonial" was by Hickcox³ who described them as coins. He referenced a Mr. Burnt, who concluded the dies were executed probably by Roettier but not engraved in the Tower Mint of London. Dickeson⁴ next discussed the series, apparently unaware of Hickcox's work, and reiterated comments by Snelling⁵, who believed the dies were a product of the Tower Mint (where an elephant obverse die was thought stored in the museum), in contradiction to Hickcox. Dickeson agreed they were probably the work of John Roettier (chief engraver, 1670-1698, of the Tower Mint) and suggested several explanations for the "God preserve London" reverses. One explanation was some relationship to the 1665-1666 outbreak of the plague in London. Dickeson reasoned that the elephant obverses were prepared for possible use in Tangier, North Africa, a new English colonial outpost at the time. Crosby⁶ was the next to consider the series and noted the great differences in weight of the thick and thin planchet types. This suggested to him that they were medals, not tokens, and he also reiterated Snelling's comments. Atkins⁷ believed the Carolina and New England halfpence [not medals] were private speculations of English manufacture and which "had no very

¹ A brass London Token was reported in the "notorious Dr. Clay sale of 1871" that was suspicious (Ford, John J. Jr. "Untraced curiosities in the American colonial series", *Numismatic Review*. 2-4:93-96, 1947).

² For example see Nettels, C.P., *The Money Supply of the American Colonies before 1720*. Univ. Wisc. Stud. Soc. Sci. and History, No. 20, (Madison WI, 1934); Savelle, M. and R. Middlekauf. *A History of Colonial America*. Holt, Rineholt and Winston, (NY. 1964).

³ Hickcox, J.H. *An Historical Account of American Coinage*. Reprint Bowers and Merena, Inc. (NH. 1858 [1988])

⁴ Dickeson, M.W. *The American Numismatic Manual*. Lippencott, (Philadelphia PA, 1860).

⁵ Snelling. *On the Coins of Great Britain etc..., Part V. Pattern Pieces*. 1769.

⁶ Crosby, S.S. *The Early Coins of America*. Reprint, Token and Medal Society. 1875 (1965)

⁷ Atkins, J. *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*. B. Quaritch, (London. 1889).

extensive currency." Betts⁸ followed by describing the pieces again as medals and only reiterated some of Crosby's and Snelling's previous discussions of the series. Next, Peck⁹ briefly discussed the London-related varieties in his review of English copper coins. He referenced Montagu¹⁰ who considered these to be patterns for a halfpenny of the William and Mary period. This attribution was based on the 1694 date on the Carolina and New England varieties. Peck, however, supported an earlier Charles II issuance, following both Thoresby¹¹ and Snelling. Thoresby, however, seemed unaware of the Carolina or New England pieces and Snelling of the New England variety. Peck believed this attribution is supported by the fact that an elephant mark is found on many Charles II silver and gold coins, dated 1663 and later, indicated Africa as the source of the metal used in the coinage. Peck also reported an 1717 George I farthing overstruck on an elephant copper, presumably cut down in size, suggesting they were an expendable, unofficial issue.

The next discussion of the series appears to be by Vlack¹². He basically agreed with Hickcox on the association of the London varieties with the 1664-66 plague. He thought, however, the pieces were intended for use by the Royal Company of Adventurers [the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa] who were known as the Royal African Company [of England] after 1672. He offered no reason why the elephant obverses were linked to the Carolina or New England reverses. He speculated that there could have been three trading companies, the London, Carolina and New England Companies, which were involved.

The same time, Newman published a review¹³ and discussed the "African Halfpennies." He basically followed Peck's review of the series and added that a Carolina variety was illustrated on the Pembroke plates engraved before 1733 but not sold publicly until 1746. Newman also reported that the elephant dies were not included in the inventory of the Tower Mint 1910 exhibition of coins and dies. This supported Hickcox's conclusion, based on comments by a Mr. Burnt, that the pieces were not official Tower mint products.

Doty¹⁴ next considered the series and basically reiterated Crosby. He believed the pieces did circulate as halfpence and continued to associate the "London" reverses with the 1665-66 plague and fire somewhat based on Peck's earlier discussions. Taxay¹⁵ also followed this reasoning. Peck was also referenced as reporting the Royal African Company was founded by the Duke of York in 1662. Taxay believed the heavy weight type of this series circulated in England and the lighter weight types were shipped elsewhere for use¹⁶.

Bowers¹⁷ stated that the copper used in the tokens was probably mined in West Africa and reviewed the series, but added little new information. The cataloger(s) of the Bowers and Ruddy, Garrett III sale (October 1980), which included specimens of most types, offered the

⁸ Betts, C.W. *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*. Reprint, Quarterman Publ., (Boston MA, 1894 [1972]).

⁹ Peck, C.W., *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum, 1558-1958*. British Museum, (London. 1960).

¹⁰ Montagu, H., *Copper, Tin and Bronze Coinage of England*. 2nd ed. 1893. (in Peck 1960).

¹¹ Thoresby, R. *Museum Thoresbyanum*. 1713.

¹² Vlack, R.A. *Early American Coins*. 2nd ed., Windsor Research Publ., (Johnson City, NY. 1965).

¹³ Newman, E.P. "An elephant never forgets - forgery. *Numismatist* 78:163-168. 1965.

¹⁴ Doty, R.G. "The Carolina and New England Elephant Tokens". *Studies on Money in Early America*. Amer. Num. Soc., (NY. 1976). pp 91-93.

¹⁵ Taxay, D. *The Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of United States Coins*. 2nd ed. (J.H. Rose and H. Hazelcorn, eds.), Scott Publ. (NY. 1976).

¹⁶ Michael J. Hodder believes that no such hoards or uses are known; (personal communication, 1994).

¹⁷ Bowers, Q.D. *The History of United States Coinage as illustrated by the Garrett Collection*. Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, Inc. (Los Angeles CA. 1979).

opinion that there was no reason to link the presumed earlier London reverses with the later use of the elephant obverses on the Carolina and New England reverses. However, no evidence was presented why this possibility was unreasonable.

Michael J. Hodder, in cataloging the Norweb III sale (Bowers and Merena, October 1987), fully discussed the series and defined all known dies (two obverses: H1 and 2, and seven reverses: A through G) and their combinations. He seriously questioned the Royal African Company's association with the series and much of what else that had been hypothesized or speculated about these issues until that time. He reiterated Newman in that they were known and called "African halfpennies" in 1713 by Thoresby and added that at least two London pieces (H 2-B variety) are known to be struck over 1672 royal halfpence, as previously reported by Dickeson¹⁸. Hodder also noted that the weights of the thin planchet Carolina pieces (H 1-E and H 2-F) were within the standard range for halfpennies, supporting the theory of their intended use as such¹⁹. Hodder again questioned the involvement of the Royal African Company in his cataloging of a rare "Lon don" variety (H 1-A) for the 1991 ANA sale (Bowers and Merena, August 1991).

Breen²⁰, apparently unable to use Hodder's Norweb catalog information before publishing his "*Encyclopedia*," basically reiterated Crosby's discussion of the series. He, however, questioned whether the elephant on the obverse dies was African or Asian. This followed a similar discussion by Dickeson who attempted to link the elephant dies to India. Breen also discussed the inclusion of elephant symbols on Royal African Company-related material. He speculated, without supporting evidence, that these pieces were brought over to the North American colonies by Quakers in 1682²¹. Mossman²² did not add any information, insight or theories about the issues, but there is no evidence for their use as currency in the American colonies.

The above seems to be most, if not all, that has been reported, reasoned or speculated on the series, but most basic questions remain. Because there is no known documentation of the true source or purpose of these pieces, the legends and format of the pieces themselves can be examined more closely, as well as the history of the time, for more insight. The pieces contain at least five major elements which may be clues: 1) the elephant obverses, 2) the common "God preserve..." theme, 3) the three named locations - London, New England, and Carolina, 4) the 1694 date on the American reverses, and 5) the apparent halfpenny size and weight of the commoner thin copper planchets and rarer use of thick heavy planchets. I will consider these elements for possible clues to unlocking the secrets of this series below.

1. The elephant obverses - The source and purpose of the elephant obverses have vexed numismatists and collectors for a long time. Until recently, they have been comfortably attributed to the Royal African Company, although Breen wondered if we were not dealing with the Asian species. Hodder unequivocally rejected any association of these pieces with the Royal African Company, however, not much evidence is presented. Besides what has been discussed above about the Royal African Company, I present more of what is known about the Royal African Company which may be relevant to the coins or the Company's possible involvement or lack thereof.

¹⁸ Peck (1960) also reported a 1694 William and Mary halfpenny struck over a Charles II halfpence (BMC# 606).

¹⁹ Peck (1960) noted certain 1694 William and Mary copper halfpennies, BMC#s 611 and 612, are also found on thick and thin flans.

²⁰ Breen, W. *Complete Encyclopedia of United States and Colonial Coins*. FCI Press (NY. 1988).

²¹ No elephant tokens have been found in areas well settled by Quakers (M. Hodder, pers. comm. 1994); Breen's comment might have been misplaced in the text and intended for the Mark Newby's tokens.

²² Mossman, P. *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation: a Numismatic, Economic and Historic Correlation*. Num. Notes #20, Amer. Num. Soc. (NY. 1993).

The Royal African Company and the Duke of York connection attributed to Peck, is worth examination as a beginning. The Duke of York was elected governor in the founding of the Royal African Company in 1663, although the Company received its first charter in 1660²³. Tangier, suggested by some to be the reason or source of elephant obverse dies, became an English colony at this time, as well. However, the Royal African Company was primarily involved in the slave trade from West Africa, not North Africa, to the West Indies. In 1664, the Duke was given proprietary grants by his brother, Charles II, to New York, western Connecticut, New Jersey (after the English took New Netherland from the Dutch), Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. Later in 1686, New York and most other colonies in the area were incorporated into a paper entity called the "Greater Dominion of New England" as an attempt by the Duke (now King James II of England) to gain more control over the New England colonies. This creates a tenuous link between the Duke of York, his Royal African Company association (questionably, the source of the elephant dies), his New England interests and the "New England" reverse (H 2-G) elephant token. But there is a fatal flaw in this scenario because the Dominion of New England did not last long and was probably largely ignored by 1689 and certainly by 1694, the date on these pieces. Also, although the Duke of York became King James II of England by 1685, he was quickly deposed in 1688 having been replaced by the William and Mary co-monarchy. So if the Royal African Company or some of its members were involved in the 1694 New England issuance, King James II was not among them.

Another member of the Royal African Company (elected sub-governor of the Company in 1672²⁴) was Anthony Ashley Cooper, later Earl of Shaftsbury, who was a moving spirit in the settlement of the Carolinas in 1663 as one of the eight proprietors granted the territory by Charles II. Two other Carolinas proprietors were also members of the Royal African Company²⁵. This suggests a link between the Royal African Company, or more precisely some of its members, to the Carolinas. Initially, these proprietors were not particularly interested in colonizing the Carolinas²⁶. Until 1700, the Carolinas were sparsely populated with only about 8000 colonists. Most of the early colonists of the Carolinas were from New England but this is a very tenuous relationship in the discussion. The Carolinas proprietors' control of the area began in 1665 and lasted until 1729. The link of the Royal African Company's (or one or more of its members) slave trade interests to the Carolinas might seem obvious, especially in 1694, when labor-intensive rice culture was begun there. The Royal African Company, however, was not much involved in supplying slaves to the Carolinas. This was done by other private traders probably from the West Indies, not Africa²⁷. I have not found any connection between the Earl of Shaftsbury to New England, but some other, as yet undefined, Royal African Company member or members may turn up to be a link. So, although the involvement of the Royal African Company in the American pieces, discussed by several early students of the series, is possible because of the association of some of its members with the American Colonies. This tentative link is not supported by a documented link between this company and the production of the elephant or other dies in this series, as Hodder previously noted (Bowers and Merena, ANA Sale, 1991).

One final new speculation about the use of an elephant on the obverse die is that elephants were still exotic to the English in the seventeenth century. Using an elephant as a major feature on a token could have been a good device to call a holder's attention to the piece and the text (message) on the reverse side. This is more plausible than some link to the Royal African Company and suggests the pieces were issued as tokens with a message. It is unfortunate that the intended specific meanings of these messages are presently lost to us, although the next section provides a hypothesis.

²³ Michael J. Hodder (personal communication, 1994)

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Craven, W.F. *The Colonies in Transition, 1660-1713*. (Harper & Row, NY, 1968). pg 56.

²⁶ Craven, 1968.

²⁷ Nettels, 1934.

2. **The "God preserve..." theme** - The "God preserve..." legends (or message), although being generally interpreted to mean to "to wish well" on the American varieties, can also be interpreted to indicate that some threat existed, as the London plaque was used by previous students of the series as a threatening explanation. The call for divine intervention and acknowledgement of a threat is hardly the thing to put on a medal or token to promote colonization. Promotion of colonization is an explanation suggested for the existence of the American pieces by some early students of this series. Was there a serious threat or threats in the late 17th century, ca. 1672-94, to London, Carolina (or its proprietors), and New England to support this interpretation of the legends and the token's intent? Yes, a good candidate threat is King William's War (also called the War of the League of Augsburg) between 1689 and 1697, in which England allied itself with several other European nations against the growing power of Louis XIV's France. In North America during this war, there was a potential threat of the French on the Carolinas, mostly by privateers from the sea, and remotely from the west by French fur traders and their Indian allies in the Mississippi River basin. At that time the English Carolinas grant extended west to the "South Seas" (Pacific Ocean), ignoring Spanish claims. However, when LaSalle extended the French influence and territorial claim in North America south from Quebec along the Mississippi River basin to the river's mouth in 1680-82, he created a boundary dispute by interrupting the English claim to the west (the French also ignored the Spanish claim to the area). A similar French threat existed in New England, again by privateers from the sea and by French traders from Quebec²⁸ and their Indian allies. French privateers were particularly damaging to English-American shipping and commerce after 1692 in North America²⁹. On both the Carolinas and New England borders with the French, there was commercial competition in the profitable Indian fur trade, involving mostly deerskin³⁰, and for fishing rights off Acadia (Nova Scotia) and Newfoundland. Also, the Spanish in Florida and Cuba were also beginning to show concern for their rights to southeastern North American territories by the end of the century. The Spanish and their Indian allies could have been considered an potential threat to the Carolinas.

So, although the "God preserve..." legend can be considered as positive, inviting investment or colonization, it can also refer to real or potential threats to someone interested in at least two of the North American English colonies. The specific threat or threats to London that may be referred to on the "London" varieties is still not known. Perusal of London newspapers from about 1694 may yield some clues about possible threats to "London" at the time. The advertising of threats also suggests the pieces were issued as tokens with a message or warning.

3. **The locations** - Why were only New England and Carolina chosen for the reverse legends, and not any of the other American colonies? The threat of the French privateers to these two colonies, at the flanks of the English colonization of North America, is one reason. Another reason may be that the issuer of these pieces was Sir Matthew Dudley who was concerned about both the Carolinas and New England as sources of naval stores, mostly forest products³¹. This again supports interpreting "God preserve..." as a reference to a threat. Most interestingly, Dudley petitioned the Crown in 1693 for the right to mint coins for the Colonies³².

²⁸ This war and threat to the colonies was the cause of the issuance of the first paper currency in the western world, in 1690 by Massachusetts, to pay for expenses of military action against Canada (Newman, E.P. *The Early Paper Money of America*. 3rd ed. Krause Publ., Iola Wi. 1990). This was an extreme act at the time which suggest how serious the threat to New England was perceived.

²⁹ Craven, 1968.

³⁰ Nettels, 1934. pg 48.

³¹ Michael J. Hodder (pers. comm. 1994) notes that Dudley and company tried to obtain a monopoly on the naval stores trade in New England, but his company lost out to competitors in March 1694.

³² Nettels, 1934, pg 175.

The relation of the Carolina and New England reverses to the London reverses is still unresolved. A hypothetical London Company that might have been associated with the Royal African Company, as suggested by Vlack, seems unlikely. And what of the implied threat to London found on the legends "God preserve..."? Could this represent a use of the elephant die (as an attention getter) with perhaps a message by loyal followers of King James II on the possible consequences of the "glorious rebellion" of 1688-89. London may not refer to the city, but to "London" as a symbol of English government or parliamentary power? The speculated use of elephant devise on the obverse as a attention getter fits this possibility. More information is needed on the members and activities of the Royal African Company relative to English politics and London to consider further the reason for the elephant - London die combinations, or any other use of the elephant theme at that time. Perhaps as Hodder³³ suggested, there is no connection. He also believes that the London Tokens may have been lottery tickets of some kind, following Snelling earlier conclusion about the tokens.

As per Vlack's suggestion that the use of New England on that variety was a reference to some New England Company, there was an early New England Company, but it existed only briefly between 1628-29. Another "New England Company" existed that may have nothing to do with politics or economics. It was chartered in 1662 to support English religious missionary work with the "indians" and was active for about a hundred years thereafter³⁴. It would seem unlikely that these elephant pieces had any religious basis.

Thus, there is little evidence to support why these three locations are noted on reverse legends in possible reference to some threats. The solution to this part of the mystery may be finding someone or group who had an interest in the North American Colonies and conditions in London.

4. **The 1694 date** - Several possibly relevant things happened in England in 1694. William III became sole occupant of the crown, the Bank of England was established, and perhaps more importantly, England resumed the use of copper in their minor coins. Tin or tin planchets with copper plugs had been used for a decade or so previously³⁵. Nettels reported that a number of individual or groups, besides Sir Matthew Dudley, petitioned the crown in 1694 for the right to provide coins (mostly copper) for the colonies. The "want of coin" was considered the principle obstruction to expanding American colonial trade. These would-be entrepreneurs wanted to solve the problem and to make a personal profit. So, the use of the date 1694 on the American pieces supports the idea that these pieces may have been speculative trial issues to obtain a royal coinage right for the Colonies. The size and composition of the pieces, discussed below is also consistent with this hypothesis. However, although the weights of the thin planchets were near regal standards for halfpence for the period, they were too heavy for a speculator to make a good profit³⁶, unless the pieces were trials made to obtain a coinage right with the intent to reduce the weights later. The use of thick, grossly overweight planchets supports a use as trial pieces; but they could support their issuance as tokens or medals, too. Atypical of proposed coinage trial or pattern pieces, however, no elephant pieces are known to be struck in proof or prooflike condition. Thus, although the date of the American pieces suggests they could be trial pieces for proposed new regal copper coinage, they do not fit well into that definition. Issuance as tokens or medals is still a better explanation, although the significance of the date 1694 on the two American reverses is unresolved.

³³ Michael J. Hodder (pers. comm. 1994).

³⁴ Craven, 1968, pg 117.

³⁵ Peck, 1960.

³⁶ Mossman, 1993

5. The format of the pieces - The format, including overall design and planchet sizes, offers clues about their issuance. The attribution of the die work to Roettier does not mean they were in any way official issues or intended to be such³⁷. This is supported by a lack of any reference to the monarchy on the pieces. The 1694 date on the American reverses and the rarity of examples of these fits their possible intent as trial pieces for a token, as does reports that these pieces were stuck on both cast and rolled planchets - suggesting an opportunistic planchet supply was used. In 1694 England was coming off a period where tin, not copper, was being used for minor coins, so new copper planchets might not be readily available to unofficial coiners. The reported overstriking of two London varieties on 1672 royal issues only means the overstriking occurred after 1672. These host coins were part of the last copper issues before 1694 and could have been a ready source of planchets to use to produce trial or token pieces. The thick planchets used for some pieces, that do not correspond with any authorized type of English coin of the time, also suggest they were either trial or token pieces or some type of medal. As noted previously, thick and thin flan are known, however, for some 1694 regal issues.

This brings up the question if the elephant and various London dies were prepared and used between 1672 to 1685, as suggested by others. There are reasons to consider one period of issue for all varieties of elephant tokens, American and London. The similarity of the "God preserve..." legends on London and American reverses is an obvious reason and suggests one author of the legends. It is unlikely legends that are so similar would be used in two issuances, decades apart. The common use of elephant die as an obverse on only these varieties, is another. If the elephant die was lying around for decade or more between uses, why wasn't it used with other reverses, or other obverses paired with these reverses. Another reason is the similarity in the planchets used for all varieties, both thin and thick, as discussed by Hodder in the Norweb III sales catalog. This similarity suggests one stock of planchets (thick and thin) was used during one time period for both London and American varieties, not two separated periods of issuances. This could mean that, if the 1694 date on the Carolina and New England reverses represents the real time of minting, the issuance of the undated London varieties may be dated to about 1694.

In conclusion, a review of what has been previously written about series examines several hypotheses about these pieces. Evidence is still lacking to support most of these, however. I offer a new voice in the discussion and review some old and new circumstantial information about the series and present a new hypothesis: the common elephant obverses, and similar legends and planchets on almost all varieties suggests all of these pieces could have been minted at about the same time, ca. 1694. This issuance was by some unknown party, most likely as tokens or medals, not trial coinage or pattern pieces. They were possibly using the elephant motif on the tokens to bring attention to some, as yet undefined, message about threats to some North American Colonies and "London" (or to the parties themselves, who may have had an strong interest in these places). This scenario still speculative, but seems more plausible than some previous hypotheses or speculations about the pieces. This new hypothesis will hopefully open new avenues of research and discussion about this perplexing, poorly documented series, with more focus on events during 1694 in England and North America for clues.

My thanks to Michael J. Hodder, Philip L. Mossman, and James C. Spilman for their comments and suggestions in preparing this review, and to Lynn Chen of the ANA library.

³⁷ From 1694 to 1701, most of the official coinage was done under contract outside the Royal Tower Mint, and many Tower Mint die-sinkers and moneyers, including several members of the Roettier family, were looking for work (Peck, 1960). Thus it is not surprising to find an unofficial issue attributed to this family.

Notes from a New Patron and Relic Hunter

(TN-163)

• • from Thomas A. Kays; Alexandria, VA

I have belonged to the Northern Virginia Relic Hunters Association (NVRHA) for many years. As a colonial enthusiast, I get to see many of my fellow members great and small colonial "finds", mainly from Fairfax, Prince William, and Stafford Counties, and the cities of Alexandria and Fredricksburg, Virginia. Over 98% of the NVRHA members are die-hard Civil War fanatics who often seem surprised when colonial coins pop up from the midst of Civil War hut sites. Good camping spots often found on level high ground on the South East side of hills overlooking creeks have probably been favored since prehistoric times such that colonials, when looking for a place to flop down for the night, camped where the Native Americans used to be, and the Civil War troops bivouacked where the colonials had been. NVRHA members tend to attribute colonial coins and artifacts only as "pre Civil War" and therefore worthy of the catch-all junk box which contains both pre and post Civil War stuff.

I often weed out colonial coppers and Spanish colonial silver coins from collections of oddments that the "diggers" bring in so far this summer, the best colonial-coin finds by club members have been a Maryland Chalmers Shilling, Long Worm, in VF condition with nice patina but an uneven strike and a cache of 21 Mexican 8 Reales dated between 1774 and 1800, from VF to near "Flor de Cuno" (FDC) condition, as the Spanish say, which were recovered from a single hole at an old mill site (See Western and Eastern Treasures, Peoples Publishing Company, March 1995, "Ten Best Finds" for a picture). Twenty of them came out the first day no doubt causing such excitement that one was overlooked 'till a day later.

In general, coins of small physical size are found more frequently than large coins by metal detectorists since they were easier to lose when dropped from pockets. Coins of lesser face value and more likely to be found than large denomination coins since they circulated more and were more likely to be written off by someone searching for them after discovering that hole in his pocket. Spanish colonial reales and bits, and Spanish pistareens and their parts as "sharp silver" are common hereabouts as coins go and are often found in Civil War campsites along side seated liberty half dimes, trimes, large pennies and worn half cents. Spanish silver circulated in Virginia from early colonial times until the Civil War. These foreign coins tended to emanate in circulation from their seaport of entry with greater concentrations of high quality coins, due to shorter periods of circulation when lost, found around where they were first introduced.

By my observation, Spanish "cross pistareens", mostly cut into pieces are commonly found in Fredricksburg, VA and less commonly found in Alexandria, which seemed to favor the more valuable coins of Mexico. Cobs are scarce in Northern Virginia and generally come from the Richmond area. Troops from Texas during the Civil War had a habit of losing their artifacts in the vicinity of silver coins from Bolivia. Colonial English copper coins are common but gold and silver coins from England, the U.S. Mint prior to the mid 1830s, and other foreign nations are very scarce here as coin finds go.

Alongside coins, colonial and early federal period relics such as buttons, buckles, glass, etc., are often found. The best colonial relic so far this summer was a George Washington Inaugural Button, GI-I, in Albert's Button Book. This button is the "Memorable Era, March 4th 1789" design with Heraldic Eagle insignia. It was found in Winchester, VA. George Washington is said to have worn a great coat with these distinctive colonial flat buttons to his inauguration. Only 26 to 40 of them are known (R-3) according to Albert. The shank was broken and the button had an odd field repair by drilling two small holes on either side of the eagles neck. When mounted on a coat the mounting thread would look like it was strangling the American eagle. Was this intended as a political statement? We may never know. Since I originally wrote this article on my sign up sheet to CNL, two more of these unusual buttons with complete shanks have turned up by different club members. Some people have all the luck!

WHAT'SIT? STATE COPPERS**(TN-164)****●● Research Notes from John M. Kleeberg****Compiled and Edited by Associate Editor Gary A. Trudgen**

Over the years, retooled state coppers have been illustrated within the pages of CNL. Technical Note TN-73 (sequential page 622) pictures a retooled Connecticut copper of 1787. TN-73A (sequential page 910) shows yet another similarly re-engraved Connecticut copper, this one dated 1786. On the same page as the retooled 1786 Connecticut copper, TN-102 illustrates a retooled New Jersey copper dated 1788. Here only the obverse was re-engraved differing from the Connecticut coppers where both the obverse and reverse were redone. The original New Jersey die variety of this example was Maris 6-D, a 1787 dated variety. The variety is identified by the reverse die, which is known only to be married with obverse 6. Interestingly, the reverse impression of this specimen is from an early die state of reverse D. Normally reverse D is found with a break from the bottom of the shield to the left border. The retooled obverse is obviously a copy of Maris obverse die number 50, a horse head left variety. Finally, on the following sequential page a Vermont what'sit? is shown. The original coin was a Vermont Britannia or Ryder 13. Here the obverse design appears to have been lightly strengthened, but the reverse, which is always weakly struck because of a worn die, has been retooled to considerably strengthen the central figure, legend and date. The engraving style of the Vermont specimen closely matches that of the two preceding Connecticut coppers.

Recently, John M. Kleeberg, Associate Curator of Modern Coins at The American Numismatic Society, uncovered additional information concerning New Jersey what'sit? specimens. He kindly submitted photocopies from the American Journal of Numismatics to CNL containing a discussion by two very prominent 19th century numismatic researchers, Dr. Edward Maris and Sylvester S. Crosby, concerning a then newly discovered New Jersey what'sit?. Interestingly, Dr. Maris, who would years later, in 1881, publish the first study of New Jersey coppers by die variety, was apparently deceived by the piece.

Dr. Maris' submission to AJN follows:

"A NEW JERSEY CENT
BY E. MARIS, M. D."

"The generous forbearance of my numismatic friends having enabled me to become the possessor of the remarkable New Jersey Cent disposed of in the late Thorn sale in this city, it seems almost a duty to furnish them with some account of it. As far as my Philadelphia friends are aware, one of this variety has never before been offered at public auction, nor has an account of it been published in any periodical or scientific work."

"Now let the collector select from his cabinet of Colonials all the New Jerseys struck upon a large planchet. From amongst these let him choose that particular specimen in which, on the reverse, there are unusually blunt horns to the shield, which has a projection on the left side just below the horn and extending toward PLU of the legend. A smaller imperfection of like character will be found attached to its upper part, also on the left hand side. In very many specimens too, there are traces of a crack in the die running from P to the milling. He will find on either hand, at the bottom of the shield, the sprigs in three sections, as on several others of the 87s as well as on the 88s. He has now before him the exact reverse of the coin under consideration: undoubtedly they were both produced from the same die. On turning it over, he will find a large plow with elevated beam and sharp share, below these the date 1787. The NOVA CÆSAREA will be seen in large letters, the diphthong out of its proper position. He will not fail to observe the three sprigs under the horse-head. Thus far everything corresponds exactly between his piece and my own. One

mind seems to have planned, one hand to have executed the dies that produced each of them. But now we arrive at a remarkable difference. Instead of the head of the genderless beast before him, afflicted with *poll-evil* and affrighted, we may suppose, at a reflection of his own ungainliness, let him imagine the head of a noble Arabian steed. Let him imagine the animal inspired, not with the selfishness of his distinguished Darian predecessor, but with a foresight of that illustrious empire, which was to surpass any of Persian, of Macedonian, of Roman, or of Corsican dreams; an integral part of which, with agricultural implements associated, his portrait was to typify. With head erect, dilated eye, the right ear thrown forward, the delicate top-knot elevated, he expresses his emotion with a neigh. His mane is arranged in ten handsome plaits, seven of them gracefully flowing over his neck on the side next the observer, who, struck with his artistic beauty, naturally queries why he was rejected and his unworthy opponent chosen to be the pocket companion of New Jersey's sons and daughters. Perhaps the correct answer will be that the artist was informed that he had made an unjustifiable mistake. For while the *horse-head is turned toward the left, the plow is toward the right!*"

Dr. Maris sent the new discovery to Sylvester S. Crosby who examined the coin in detail and responded as follows:

"Boston, Sept.. 18th, 1869.

DR. MARIS: — DEAR SIR: It is with great reluctance that I commence this letter, for I fear you will think me inclined to repay your kindness in sending me the coin with ingratitude; but I beg you to suspend your judgment until you have carefully compared (as I have) your New Jersey cent with a variety, which, to say the least, very strongly resembles it in every respect with the single exception of the facing of the horse's head."

"I should hardly venture to express an opinion adverse to that which you must entertain regarding this piece, were it not that I believe you to be, as I trust I am, sincere in the search after the true origin of this as well as of all of the colonial coins. I will therefore state what my examination and comparisons lead me to believe. I was at first struck with the position of the plough in relation to the head; this, upon all coins of this series known to me, is, to use a somewhat awkward expression, invariably found to face the same way as he would do if drawing the plough. in your piece the reverse is the case. This of course did not excite any suspicion in my mind, but noticing the mane of the horse, it struck me that it closely resembled in its style of workmanship the wreaths upon some of the counterfeit cents of 1793 made by Smith, of which many have come under my notice within the last year: the ears, the eye, and the leaves under the head also partake somewhat of the same style."

"Pursuing my studies still further, I found the field of the coin around the head to present a depressed or "tooled" appearance, as if cut or scraped away, to leave the head in relief. These were, with the peculiar cut of the ears, and a forelock between them, the points which excited my suspicion. I must allow that it seems next to impossible to raise a head so boldly from a surface as low as part of that worked upon (if my theory is correct) seems to have been without making a greater depression in the field than is here shown; but, when we take into consideration the "caveing" of many of these dies, as shown by coins struck from them having quite a convex surface, I am not sure but it might have been done by one so skillful in such work as was Smith, nor would it have been impossible to solder, or electrotype metal upon the surface, from which to work out a head, as has sometimes been done to get a 9 in 1799."

"The question here arises, What inducement could there have been sufficient to compensate for the time and labor necessary to produce such an alteration?"

"It is supposed a somewhat similar work was undertaken by some person to produce a coin known in the Mickley Catalogue (No. 2352) as the "Bar Half-Cent", and, although it there brought \$18, the buyer (who informed me that it was bought by mistake) believed it to be a sheer fabrication."

"The Pine Tree Shillings of 1650 also present a similar case, for the manufacture or alteration of which no adequate motive can be assigned. (I have some papers relative to the advent of these pieces into the numismatic world, which will probably soon be published.)"

"Might not some reason have existed (even if it did not exist in the matter of testing his own handiwork) for Smith, or some person as skilled (let us hope there are few such so disposed) to produce a coin like this, or *some* unique piece for a specific purpose, which, being answered, or *failing*, the coin was put out, regardless of its future effect? This, I think, may not unlikely have been the case. Believe me, sir, I have no object in, much less any wish to cast doubt upon this or any other coin. It is not a pleasant task to perform; but being impelled to do so by a sense of justice to you, as well as to all interested, which I think you must approve, and to state my opinion I have undertaken to support my theory against the objections which presented themselves to my mind against it."

"Now, to point out evidence confirmatory of this theory, from a coin in my own cabinet, for I should not presume to have mentioned my doubts without some such evidence: I was impressed by the familiar appearance of the reverse, it having a break in the dexter chief of the shield. This I readily identified with the reverse of my own, although the break upon yours is much more extended, proving it to have been a later impress of the die; still, this identity admits of no dispute, as you will see. The obverses, though not so readily identified, owing to so great a change as the facing occasions, yet are, I think, clearly from the same die. Not the slightest difference can I detect in the dates or the ploughs, even slight slips of the cutter at the end of the beam being visible upon both. The left end of the ground line upon which the plough rests connects with a point of the serrated border; this line in yours is a little the heaviest, having a ragged look, and a slight break under it, near the point of the ploughshare; I think these are caused by the breaking away of the sharp edge of the die along the line, thus giving it the ragged look, and being a later impression may not this die have been "caved" enough in its centre to give height of metal sufficient to raise this head? The leaves under the head, about which also I think I see traces of "tooling" (are not found upon the 1788s, though that proves nothing), agree precisely in form and position with those upon mine, but have slight stems; here the "tooling" appears."

"The head has already been considered, but I will add that the *front* of the neck on yours rests upon the turban, as does the back of the neck on mine. The forms and positions of the letters of the legend I have also carefully compared, and find them to agree, with such slight variations as may be accounted for by wearing or bruising, mine being somewhat defaced. Slight marks at the top of the Æ, as if an attempt was first made to place those letters a little higher, also a slight mark above the left curve of the S, about midway between that letter and the border, appears on both, and on both also the letter A, at the end of the legend, is lower than the other letters, and somewhat irregular in its form. One more point of resemblance and I finish. The points of the serrated border, just over the A of "NOVA", and one point at its right are quite long; those next following are much shorter, and not as near the legend at the commencement of the next word, though they approach the legend somewhat near its end."

"In view of so many points of resemblance, I can come to no other conclusion than that some skillful artisan has cut a head in reversed position, either having sufficient metal there, or obtaining it by soldering or electrotype process."

"I send with your own my specimen, that you may, without trouble of search, follow my comparisons. The coin reached me too late for exhibition at the meeting, but I have taken pains to see most of the members who were present; they were much pleased to be able to see the piece. I mentioned to only one of them my opinion of it, and to him *sub rosa*, as I did not wish to spread such a report without further consideration. I also showed it to some members of the Boston Numismatic Society, who considered it to be a *rara avis*."

"I have heard it said that "skepticism is one of the first requirements in an antiquarian." I hope you will not consider me as especially fitted by nature for such pursuits!"

"With many thanks for your kindness, and really much regret at writing you as I do, but hoping that you will receive it as kindly as it is intended, I am, most respectfully,
S. S. CROSBY"

"P.S. I have shown your coin to J. Colburn, President of the Boston Numismatic Society, and he fully coincides with me in my opinion regarding it. S.S.C."

The most significant design difference of the specimen in question was the horse head facing left while the plow was facing right. On all other New Jersey coppers the horse head and plow face in the same direction. Closely reading the obverse and reverse die descriptions given by Crosby and Maris, there is little question that the original die variety is Maris 63-q. (See Norweb lot # 1371 for a photo of a specimen which is nearly in the same die state as that described by Crosby and Maris.) The referenced photo shows that obverse die 63 was beginning to sink in the center as Crosby suspected, supplying the engraver with enough additional copper to form the new horse head facing left. Crosby's description indicates that the only design change made to the coin was the reversal of the horse head whose design was apparently copied from a genuine horse head left variety. And Crosby's letter informs us that he also owned a similar retooled specimen made from the same original die variety.

Crosby's careful analysis of this new discovery lends credence to his subsequent claim that it was probably a product of "Smith of Ann Street" in New York City. It is known that Smith specialized in producing engraved copies of 1793 large cents made from 1794 cents and that he worked at this pursuit circa 1859 to 1863. Recently, Pete Smith in an article that appeared in the July 15, 1992 issue of Penny-Wise, tentatively identified "Smith of Ann Street" as William D. Smith. He was apparently well known to numismatists during this era and was mentioned numerous times in Woodward's auction catalogs. Thus, as Crosby suspected, "Smith of Ann Street" is a prime suspect for producing the retooled state coppers mentioned in this technical note.

One final piece of correspondence was published in AJN concerning this new specimen. This letter follows:

"506 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, October 14, 1869.

Prof. CHARLES E. ANTHON, *American Numismatic Society*:

DEAR SIR: Learning that one of your contributors had written an article for your JOURNAL, expressing doubts about the originality of a New Jersey coin, 1787 Horse Head left, sold in the Thorn sale in this city, 6th, 7th, and 8th September, 1869, and now in my possession, I would respectfully ask an opportunity to give a few good and substantial reasons why I believe the said coin to be a genuine piece, coined in 1787 and just as it came from the dies, wear and color excepted. Mr. S. S. Crosby of Boston, who has given the most plausible reasons for

doubting the originality of the coin, makes three important points in reference to the New Jersey piece:"

"*First*. He is of the opinion that the horse's head may have been cut from another and similar coin and soldered on the obverse of this piece in a reversed position or head looking to the observer's left."

"*Secondly*. If not soldered on, it may have been made or carved from a mass of copper, deposited on the coin by the electrotyping process."

"*Thirdly*. If not accomplished by either of the above, the horse's head may have been tooled out of a bunch of copper, hammered or "hunched" up in the centre from the piece itself or that the surface was worked away from the head."

"In answer to these three points I beg to state that the New Jersey copper was handed by the writer to Robert C. Davis, chemist of this city and a distinguished numismatist and numismatic expert, with the request to put the piece to any test, however severe, and prove it either a false or true coin. Mr. Davis first subjected the coin to a red heat, and by mechanical appliances endeavored to remove the horse's head, but without success. This proved that the horse's head was a part and parcel of the coin and not soldered or cemented on. Next the coin was examined carefully with magnifiers to see if the copper (which had become clean by the heating process) had been deposited on the piece by electrotyping. No evidences could be found to give color to such an idea, as the copper was all similar in appearance and the ring of the metal clear and distinct, which would not be the case if a bunch or quantity of copper had been deposited upon the centre of the coin."

"*Lastly*. Was the horse's head forced up from "hunching" or punching the copper, or the surface cut away from the centre of the piece and then engraved to its present form? I cannot admit this presumption of Mr. Crosby's, as the piece was submitted to the Engraver of the U. S. Mint and the Foreman of the Die Department in that institution. Mr. Davis, wishing to test the accuracy and judgment of these experts, presented the coin as a splendid specimen of *engraved work*, when each of the above-named Mint officers examined the piece with a powerful magnifier and denied that any part of the coin was either cut, tooled, or engraved; but was struck by dies, and was an *original piece*. Wishing to know more of the history of this peculiar piece, I addressed a letter to the owner of the collection in which it was found, and received the following reply:

[COPY.]

"PLAINFIELD, Oct. 9, 1869.

DEAR SIR: I have just received your letter and will answer it immediately. I remember both of those reversed Jersey cents, 1787 and 1788. I have had them both over four years, and the dark one* I got of an old man that had a farm about three miles from here; he has since sold his farm and moved away and I think he had the piece a number of years, for in 1858 or 1859 I was building a house opposite his farm house and he used to come over and see us at our work; one day in talking about coins (as we found some coins tearing down the old house) he told me he had a lot of coins, so a few years after I went to see him and bought all he had, and that Jersey cent was among the lot, for I knew when I saw it in his lot that it was valuable."

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant, (Signed) EDWARD P. THORN"

"The foregoing letter is added to controvert the suggested idea that the New Jersey coin was altered by a Mr. Smith (now deceased) who was a very clever artist in producing bogus coins, and followed that pursuit a few years ago in the city of New York."

"Yours, with respect,

JOHN W. HASELTINE."

* "This has reference to the 1787, which was black in color; the other piece was dated 1788 horse head left, and was a light brassy color.
J. W. H."

As indicated by the preceding letter, Dr. Maris apparently quickly sold his new acquisition to Captain John Haseltine after hearing from Sylvester Crosby. Haseltine was a well known numismatist and leading dealer of coins and stamps in Philadelphia. As the new owner, he argued that the coin was genuine. And from Edward Thorn's letter we learn that another reversed (horse head left, plow right) New Jersey copper also existed, this one dated 1788.

The state coinage what'sit?s deserve additional study. A list of specimens that have been reported within the pages of CNL is compiled below.

DATE	STATE	RETOOLING	ORIGINAL COIN	COMMENTS
1786	Connecticut	Obverse & Reverse	Unknown	
1787	Connecticut	Obverse & Reverse	Unknown	
1787	New Jersey	Obverse (Horse head reversed)	Maris 63-q	Thorn Sale / Maris / Haseltine
1787	New Jersey	Obverse (Horse head reversed)	Maris 63-q	Crosby
1788	New Jersey	Obverse (Horse head reversed)		Thorn Sale
1788	New Jersey	Obverse (Copy of obverse 50)	Maris 6-D	Spiro / Picker
1788	New Jersey	Obverse (Copy of obverse 50)	Maris14-J	
1787	Vermont	Reverse	Ryder 13	Picker

If any Patron is aware of other state copper what'sit?s, please write to the CNL Foundation with information. Also, if a Patron knows the current whereabouts of the specimens reported in the above list, please write. Hopefully, the CNL photo file of state copper what'sit?s can be expanded and a summary article written concerning these interesting works of numismatic art. **GAT**



ROUND AND ROUND WE GO

or
A "MEDAL TURN" NEW JERSEY 17-K
on
A ROTATED "COINTURN"
COUNTERFEIT 177? GEORGIUS III HALFPENCE

by
Roger A. Moore, M.D., FAAP
Moorestown, N.J.

(TN-165)

The recent series of informative and historically stimulating papers written by John Lorenzo (1,2), and Michael Hodder (3), must have caused many New Jersey colonial copper collectors to retrieve their 17-b's from the vault for re-evaluation. Following a perusal of my 17-b's, I also took another look at my 17-K's and discovered what I thought was an undescribed, unique piece - until a higher authority put me straight (4). In spite of my coin's lack of uniqueness, I believe it to be of great enough interest to the readership to provide its description. Perhaps this will lead to the uncovering of other similar type coins. The coin is a fairly unremarkable Maris type 17-K (5) with a mildly granular surface, a diameter of 29 mm, and a weight of 132.6 grains [see Figure1]. What is unusual about the coin is its axis of 357° ("medal turn").



Figure 1. - Obverse and reverse of the discussed Maris 17-K.

Determination of axis orientation and standardization of nomenclature for axial evaluation of colonial coinage is relatively uncharted territory, and certainly no axis determination methodology has been universally accepted. The orientation of a coin's obverse in relationship to its reverse (the axis) requires the identification of characteristics on each side of the coin which represent vertical or horizontal positions. Once the vertical axis for one side is determined, the horizontal axis can be obtained by extending a line at a 90° angle to the vertical axis, and *vice versa* if the

(1) Endnotes are on page 1499

horizontal axis is determined first. For New Jersey state coppers, observation points indicating the vertical or horizontal axis are easily identifiable for both the obverse and the reverse. On the obverse the horizontal axis can be determined by the exergual line located above the date. (See Figure 2-A) In some New Jersey coppers no exergual line is present, but for these coins the base of the plow can be used instead.

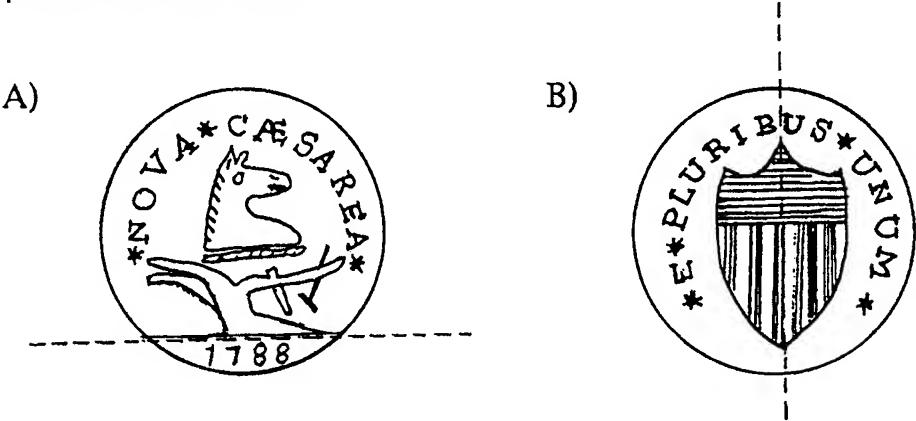


Figure 2. - A) New Jersey coin obverse horizontal axis is based upon the exergual line.
B) New Jersey reverse vertical axis based on "middle shield line".

Similarly, the vertical axis of the reverse can be determined by drawing an imaginary line through the "base point" and the "middle point" of the shield to form the vertical "middle shield line" (6). (See Figure 2-B)

The next step in determining a New Jersey copper axis is measuring the angular relationship between the vertical axis obtained from both the obverse and reverse of the coin. Unfortunately, at present there is disagreement on the best method for measuring and describing this axial relationship (7,8,9,). To me the most rational methodology and the standard academic numismatic approach is the utilization of a 360° evaluation, rather than two 180° arcs. Further, a "coin turn" coin, where the reverse is upside-down in relationship to the obverse, should be said to have a 180° axial orientation. Conversely, a "medal turn" coin, where the reverse is upright in relationship to the obverse, should be said to have a 0° or 360° axial orientation. With this convention accepted, the only other necessary determination is which direction the rotational measurement should be made - either clockwise or counter clockwise. (See Figure 3)

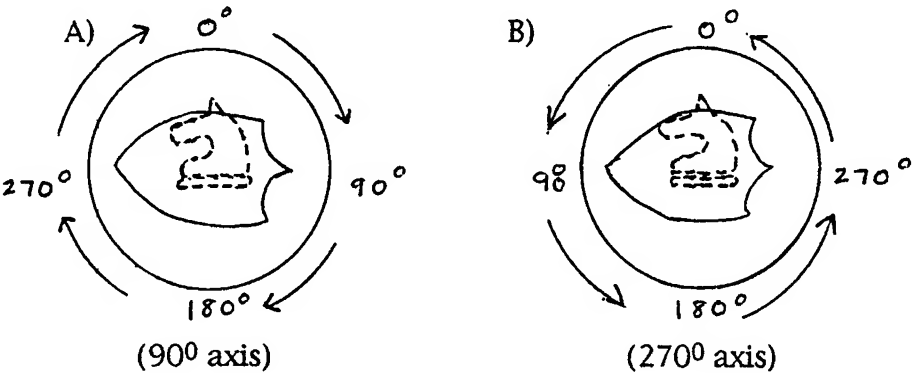


Figure 3. - A) Axis with a clockwise rotational axial convention.
B) Axis with a counter clockwise rotational axial convention.

The axis system traditionally used by the American Numismatic Society and the one utilized by Michael Hodder, who has probably performed more axis checks on colonial coins than any other single individual, is a 360° evaluation in a clockwise manner (4). I adhere to this convention in all further discussions of axial measurements. For a New Jersey head right coin viewed from the reverse, figure 4 provides the reader with a simple explanation of the cardinal axial orientations.

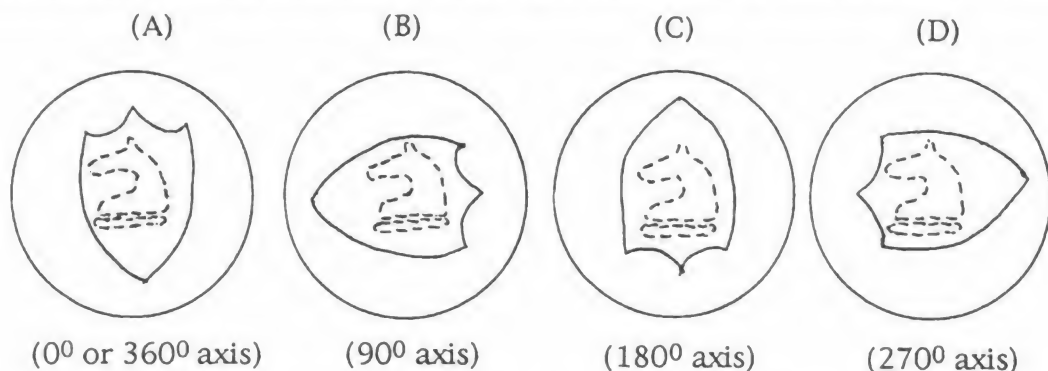


Figure 4. - (A through D) Axial relationship of a New Jersey head right obverse to the reverse in different orientations when viewed from the reverse. An outline of the obverse is provided, as if one were looking through the coin.

Having checked the axis on each of my New Jersey's, my 17-K with an axis of 357° seemed unusual. Just how unusual was substantiated by Michael Hodder using his ever growing data base. Of the twenty-five 17-K's for which he has axis measurements, only one was found to have a medal orientation (4). Of interest, none of the 14 measured 17-J's were medal turn and only two of the 39 measured 17-b's were medal turn. The only other discovered medal turn 17-K has a Connecticut state copper as the identified undertype (10). The 17-K New Jersey coppers are known to have undertypes, usually 1787 Connecticut (4), with one report of a 1772 Machin's Mills copper (11). No other undertypes for the 17-K have yet been reported (12, 13). The undertype of my coin is a 177? counterfeit GEORGIUS III bust right halfpence. Though the counterfeit British halfpence has not been recognized as an official undertype of the 17-K, another 17-K with a counterfeit British halfpence undertype has been cataloged previously (14). Most of the undertype on both sides of my coin is obscured by the overtype, except for the date on the reverse, and the upper portion of the laurel wreath with legend on the obverse. (See Figure 5)



Figure 5.- Close-up of the undertype date on the discussed 17-K coin.

A comparison of the die punch used to make the 7's in the date of my coin with Machin's Mills coins failed to produce a match. A similar comparison with each of the plated coins in William Anton, Jr's book on counterfeit British halfpence (15), also failed to provide an exact match, though Anton # 144 (a 1778 bust right Georgivs III halfpence) has a number of similarities. The undertype does not correspond to a real British halfpence. Therefore, the attribution of the undertype as a counterfeit halfpence is made by exclusion, rather than by positive diagnostics. The weight of the coin which is significantly less than 150 grains, also supports the contention that the undertype is a counterfeit, rather than a genuine British halfpence (4).

For readers unfamiliar with obverse-reverse nomenclature for British halfpence and their counterfeits, the dated side is called the reverse (also true of the state coinage of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont). Of course, New Jersey state coinage has the date on the obverse. The date and exergual line of my counterfeit halfpence undertype are relatively clear, therefore allowing determination of a fairly precise horizontal and vertical axis for the undertype's reverse. However, since only the upper portion of the laurel wreath can be seen on the obverse, making a similar exact axial determination for that side is not possible. Therefore, I made a "general" approximation of the vertical axis using as a guide the "typical" angular relationship of the laurel wreath to the vertical axis in other counterfeit halfpence. It must be stated that even under the best of circumstances, characteristics which can reproducibly define the vertical axis of the obverses of British halfpence and their counterfeits, have not been established. At present the primary determinate of a vertical axis on the obverse of these coins is "That they look upright." Therefore, having stressed the subjective nature of the axial evaluation, I estimate that the axis of my coin's undertype to be 140° (40° off from a perfect "coin strike").

Final consideration should address the axial relationship between the overtype and the undertype. Since the reverse of the overtype and undertype are both on the same coin side, one should be able to obtain both a reverse-reverse axis and an obverse-obverse axis. The reverse-reverse axis was found to be 40° , while the obverse-obverse axis was 173° . In both of these determinations, the undertype was considered to have the primary orientation, while the overtype's position was considered as secondary. Stating this primary-secondary relationship is important for the purpose of convention, since the axial determination depends on a defined standard.

Of interest, if we make a major speculative jump and presume the minter would try to make some alignment of the counterfeit halfpence, which served as the planchet, on top of the the lower New Jersey die, then the partial existing rotation of my coin's undertype might provide indirect evidence concerning whether the minter's lower die was the reverse [K] or the obverse [17]. If the lower die was the New Jersey obverse, the minter would be looking down at this die as he placed the planchet onto it. In this circumstance the undertype's reverse would be viewed by the minter as he placed it on the die. The measurement of the axial relationship of the New Jersey obverse of my coin in relationship to the counterfeit halfpence reverse is 323° , not a very good alignment. However, a check of the axial relationship of the New Jersey reverse with the halfpence obverse gives an axis of exactly 180° - a perfect "coin" alignment !! Therefore, if the assumption is accepted that the minter was consciously aligning coins during the minting process, a conclusion can be drawn that the lower die was the New Jersey reverse, not the New Jersey obverse. It will be interesting to see if this speculation holds up in the light of rotational information provided by other coins.

Hopefully, this article will stimulate other owners of 17-K's to reevaluate their coins based on rotational patterns. At the very least a crude estimation of whether the coins are in a "coin" or "medal" turn orientation can be easily performed. I would greatly appreciate any feedback on the rotational orientations of the readership's 17-K's.

HAPPY HUNTING!!

Roger Moore; 435 Camden Ave.; Moorestown, NJ 08057

More >>>>>>

**I would like to acknowledge Michael J. Hodder
for his numismatic input
and Phillip DeVicci
for the use of his photographic expertise and equipment. RM**

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GUIDELINES FOR NUMISMATIC RESEARCH

by

**CNL Associate Editor
Gary A. Trudgen**

(TN-166)

The following are some general guidelines for conducting numismatic research on early American coins.

- Obtain copies of what has already been written on the subject of study. Scrutinize this material. It will provide a base from which to conduct your research and may suggest possible leads and a direction (or directions) that your research should take. Consider using the following resources to obtain this material:
 - ANA Library: Members can borrow books by mail.
 - ANS Library.
 - CNL back issues.
 - Penny-Wise back issues: Now available on CD-ROM.
 - Eric P. Newman Numismatic Education Society
 - Auction catalogs.
- Study the subject yourself. Collect appropriate data and place it into a computer database for study and possible mathematical (statistical) analysis. Get as much hands-on experience as possible. Travel to study specimens and collect data. Study as many significant collections as possible that are held by individuals, museums and universities.
- Search primary source material, such as, contemporary newspapers, magazines, manuscripts and legal records. Most of this material will be available on microfilm through interlibrary loan. This is time consuming work because there are no indexes. It may, however, lead to significant new information.
- Study the history of the era that you are researching. Become familiar with the events, people and places in which your research centers. This will help you correctly interpret new material that you uncover.
- Let your findings set the direction of your research. Keep an ongoing list of items you want to check and record all of your thoughts and observations. Do as much in parallel as possible.
- Be patient! Good research takes time — sometimes years.

Finally, a researcher's "best friend" is his own personal reference library. Work at building your own collection of relevant books, magazines and catalogs.

The Editor's Roundtable

Apparently everyone liked CNL No. 98, our previous issue. Associate Editor Mike Hodder described it as "an eclectic issue" that is, something for everyone, and observed that "Sydney Martin's effort at classifying Wood's Hibernia farthings is a truly daunting task". In ye Editor's opinion, because of the large number of dies involved, Martin has only scratched the surface with his work on the farthings, but it is a deep, heavy scratch! Keep up the good work!

Associate Editor Phil Mossman comments "What particularly pleases me is that so many new names are becoming involved. Maybe there is a renaissance regarding colonial numismatics! He continues, however, "I do question a statement on page 1458; what is the documentary evidence the author cites to support the contention these coppers were purchased in bulk and shipped to the colonies? One must exclude Breen's observations for which he never offered a shred of evidence, except having seen them in accumulations. They have never been mentioned in contemporary reports or found in numbers in archaeological excavations whereas the Rosa Americanas have been recovered. If various odd coppers appeared on the American scene and show up in accumulations, I wonder whether they could have arrived later, i.e. pre-Civil War, during other shortages. This is a subject I'd like to research further but until that time I'm convinced to the contrary, despite the fact that this series is one of my favorites to collect (as *Irish* coppers). It is my current opinion, that lacking any credible evidence, the factors which link the Hibernias to British North America are commercially rather than historically driven".

Phil raises a very good point because there always seems to be a question in determining whether or not a coinage should be con-

sidered as "American", but it has also seemed to ye Editor that this question has a rather straightforward and logical answer. First of all, we know that almost any sort of coinage having an intrinsic value circulated in America as a medium of exchange during both the colonial and the confederation eras (as an example, see Gary Trudgen's *Hessian Payments* in CNL No. 97, page 1440). And many items having *little* intrinsic value, coppers and counterfeit halfpence for example, also circulated. So, anything might be called "American" or "colonial", but we must draw the line somewhere! Accordingly, in the opinion of ye Editor, a specimen is "American" (that is, a pre-colonial, colonial, confederation or United States specimen) if it (1) was manufactured within the geographical area of what is today the United States, or (2) was specifically authorized by a legal ordinance of a foreign government for use in one of the geographical areas of what is now the United States, and (3) within the time window of antiquity through the year 1793, and finally, all else failing, application of ye Editor's personal shibboleth: (4) Logic must suffice until evidence comes along.

For an example of item (2) see CNL No. 59, page 733, where we illustrated the French Royal Edict of October 1766 authorizing the 1767 Colonies Francoises copper sous for the American Colonies. Comment, anyone?

Ye Editor committed another of his unfortunate typos in CNL No. 98 when he identified the upper cut on Frank Steimle's sketch, page 1454, as a Silver notch instead of a Sliver notch - - that is - - the letters l and i are transposed. Please hand-mark your copies. Hopefully we will have much less of that sort of thing in the future since Associate Editor Gary Trudgen is now helping out with the computer composition of pages for CNL. He is working on an IBM clone running Windows and ye Editor is working with a Macintosh IICI, and we are both learning a lot about cross-platform file exchange running PageMaker 5.0! Plus - - Gary's eagle eye is much sharper than ye Editor's diminishing vision.

Phil Mossman, by the way, will serve as conference chairman for the next Coinage of The Americas Conference (COAC) scheduled for Saturday, October 28, 1995 at the American Numismatic Society in New York and he invites your participation, either as a speaker or a member of the audience. This year's subject is CNL's primary field of interest "The Coinage of the Confederation" (time window 1776 through 1792). If you would like to present a paper, please contact Phil and mail him an abstract as soon as possible. His mailing address is:

Philip L. Mossman, M.D.
36 Griffin Avenue
Hampden, Maine 04444

Every so often someone writes and tells us that CNL can save money by using the nine digit zip code for our mailings. It is gratifying that many of you take the time and trouble to send us such information, and we thank you; however, CNL is mailed as presorted non-profit third class mail and the highest sorting level that we can use is the first three digits of the five digit zip code and, therefore, the last -xxxx zip digits are of no use to us. So, thank you, but please do not bother to send us your nine digit zip code! JCS

from the INTERNET

the CNL e-mail address is
75021.172@compuserve.com

Our new "from the INTERNET" feature created more than passing interest in cyberspace. For starters, our request for Patron's e-mail addresses on our 1995 subscription form resulted in a posting on the COINS Mailing List [coins@cobra.uni.edu] that this was a "first" -- "Pretty cool. I don't recall any other numismatic organization requesting my e-mail address". This from metzger@tenet.edu [CNL Patron Bob Metzger]. Thanks Bob.

Next we initiated a group e-mail message and transmitted it to the 33 e-mail addresses that we currently have on file. This number is roughly 10% of our membership. Our friendly Mail-Daemon returned five of them as "host unknown", but we squared two of them away very quickly, and we have sent out snail-mail copies of the message to three other Patrons in the hope of obtaining corrections. Speaking of snail-mail, that wonderful service is, once again, requiring three to four weeks to carry a first class letter from the fringes into Huntsville. Would another postal increase help? The more-expensive they get the more-slower they go! <g>

Our e-mail message * Colonial Newsletter "from the INTERNET" * was simply a request to our cyberspace Patrons for material to be used in this column. It also pointed out a new coins web site:

<http://www.earthlink.net:80/biz/bourse/.webdocs/>

whew!

now shortened to a new URL:

<http://bourse.com>

For more information contact, by e-mail, drbetts@earthlink.com [CNL Patron Timothy Betts] who comments: "Right now I am showing 120 photos of ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins ..." "... but I would love to have colonial material to show too. My plan for the site is for it to be an on-line bourse, where many different dealers can show their wares the way they would at coin shows and in their mailing lists now ..."

And - - we have received this note from 76630.2206@compuserve.com [CNL Patron Robert Slobins]:

"I am researching die varieties of Rosa Americanas. They seem to be all R7 or R8 <g>. I have 41 pieces and have seen 40 or so more. I'd like to get some help."

NOTE - - for those of you not connected to the Internet, send a message by snail-mail [that's

the old fashioned U.S. Mail] to ye Editor and we will forward it to Robert. JCS

from Dale Trotter
Uniondale, PA

For the benefit of our unconnected Patrons <g>, the origin and definition of the word cyberspace is the following, from The Academic American Encyclopedia, online edition, Grolier Electronic Publishing, Danbury, CT, 1993:

Cyberspace is a catchword for the interactive computing and communications base available on the Internet. Science fiction writer William Gibson coined the word in *Neuromancer* (1984), a novel in which "hackers" connect their brains directly to a computer network where the data of multinational corporations are represented as geometrical shapes in a virtual reality landscape. The hacker-heroes of Gibson's novels (and of the works of Gibson's imitators) travel in this computer-network world as if it were a real world that they could apprehend with their senses.

Gibson's cyberspace—fleshed out in his subsequent novels *Count Zero* and *Mona Lisa Overdrive*—was seen by many in the computing community of the 1980s as a metaphor for the way people working for universities, corporations, and governments interacted with one another through computer networks. By the early 1990s the word had passed into general usage and is synonymous with the Internet.

Letters • Letters • Letters

from John Warns
Albuquerque, NM

A hopefully not too trivial inquiry: When in your experience have you ever seen a less-than XF-40 specimen of The Rhode Island Token offered for sale? Or, are low-end pieces actually scarcer than the high grades?

This one is yours, Mike.

JCS

Recently, while reading a gun parts catalog (Dixie Gun Works of Union City, TN) I saw a reference to a Jacob Perkins, a sub-inspector of Waters Muskets at Springfield Armory from 1819-1821. Would this be the same Jacob Perkins of Massassuchetts Copper fame? Anyone? JCS

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from William J. McKivor
Seattle, WA

My research is largely in the field of colonial economic conditions, rather than the coins or notes themselves ... nearly two hundred years of economic growth, under various forms of government and rates of expansion would take volumes. Any suggestions you might have would be appreciated as an article of this type seems a little out of the mainstream for CNL.

First of all Bill, take a good look at CNL No. 74 (September, 1986) and go from there. JCS

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from Donald S. Chamberlain, M.D.
Salem, SC

I found your editorial on page 1354, February 1993 (CNL No. 93) of particular interest since I have recently retired and am now becoming involved in projects other than Radiology. Collecting Colonials has come to the fore because of the great diversity of coins, exciting history or lack thereof, etc. A challenge much greater than just filling in another slot in the coin book! ... Since I am a true beginner in this area of numismatics, I am more interested obtaining some basic information. CNL deals with highly specialized issues requiring much background information. ... For the CNL to be all things to all Colonial Collectors may be difficult but to include material for all levels of the numismatic scholar should help to retain the sophisticated colonial buff as well as encour-

age new readers to become hooked on CNL. And, my congratulations to ye Editor for your dedication and love of the world of Colonials as so clearly exhibited by your continuing editorship of CNL. Keep up the good work!.

First of all - - Thank you, but remember that CNL publishes what our Patrons send to us and this naturally results in a sophisticated informational content level. In reality, the basics are well established. Ye Editor has four suggestions for a newcomer to Early American Numismatics: (1) Obtain a copy of S. S. Crosby's *Early Coins of America* ..., and (2) obtain a copy of Walter Breen's *Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins*, and (3) obtain a copy of CNL No. 74 or its big brother hard cover edition published by ANS, Phil Mossman's *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation*, and (4) obtain a copy of Eric P. Newman's *The Early Paper Money of America*. Study those books and become educated; live by those books and become a numismatist. JCS

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Our thanks, also to **E. F. Schwam; Tuscon, AZ** who expressed in two handwritten pages many of the identical concerns as those presented above by Dr. Chamberlain. JCS

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• Reminiscences •

The Lost CNL Folder

Until some ten years ago ye Editor always carried in his briefcase a file folder filled with letters and manuscripts from CNL Patrons. That briefcase and the file folder made hundreds of trips together over the years from home to office and back home again. Sometimes across the continent. Over and over. Whenever time permitted, out the folder would come and a few letters would be marked for publication in CNL, paragraphs circled for

future use, new letters added, old ones discarded, and from time to time a Xerox copy would replace an original to be cut and pasted into the proper format for typing and eventual publication. It was a sloppy system but it had worked very well for many years. That stained and dog-eared folder always contained the rudimentary beginnings of the next issue of *The Colonial Newsletter*. As long as the folder remained in the briefcase all seemed to be well, and the future of the next issue was secure.

One day in 1985 the briefcase and the folder parted company. Suddenly, the folder was gone, the briefcase lost weight overnight, and after the panic subsided despair set in. Days of searching followed. Days of sometimes frantic frustration futilely fussing into wastebaskets long before emptied - - under stacks of magazines - - the lap drawers of numerous desks - - inside file drawers; had it been mistakenly filed somewhere? Was it at home, or in the office, or under the car seat. Had it been left on the counter at the Post Office, in the Barber Shop, perhaps in the wife's car the afternoon that we visited the Mall together after work and had dinner in the cafeteria? Ah! The restroom at the cafeteria! No. Why would it have been taken there?

The briefcase did not long survive the loss of its old friend and companion. Within a year the latch self-destructed, one of the hinges cracked, the leather split across the face and with hardly a whimper it lay down and died.

Ye Editor had better luck having developed a considerable array of survival skills during his tenure in a succession of aerospace firms, and when in early 1970 following the successful Moon landing he found himself once again kicked out the door of technological service to the Nation, he managed to land on his feet and found employment with a support contractor at The Marshall Space Flight Center. These traumatic experiences, however, could not compare with the melancholy attending the disappearance of that file folder. It had utterly vanished without a trace. Gone. And with it the future of CNL! Everything planned for the next several issues had literally evaporated.

Somehow all was not lost, merely misplaced. The sun would rise again from day to day, and so it did. Spring arrived on schedule and the world wobbled back into proper orbit about a sun that continued to shine. The survival skills paid off with increased dividends and with the healing passage of time the errant folder faded into the fog of antiquity and vanished from memory. Forgotten, as though it had never existed.

The personal computer age quickly ascended and overwhelmed all of the long established techniques and procedures of producing printed documents. Typewriters vanished as suddenly as had our file folder; words were no longer typed, but processed. Dot matrix, then impact printers flourished only to be swept away in a flood of laser printers that invaded the new age of desktop publishing. Personal computers now held a position of royalty on every desk and exhibited more binary muscle than could be packed into a two story building only a few short years before. In a bewildering display of applied technology a 360Kb floppydisk evolved into a 650Mb optical giant, and where before a few letters or manuscripts were laboriously typed and mailed, they were now scanned and zapped in seconds through cyberspace between editors located 1500 miles apart. Paper and scissors are no more, scanned images at 1200dpi on glowing screens are cut and pasted with the swift stroke of a mouse. And the world moves on.

Between 1985 and 1995 The Colonial Newsletter underwent many changes as wave after wave of technological improvements made our tasks quicker and, frankly, more fun. Today ye Editor is sitting before four computers, all of which talk with each other, permitting us to read almost any kind of computer disk that our Patrons send to us. A modem permits file transfer to or from any place in the world via e-mail on the Internet. But CNL still looks about the same as it did ten years ago, still using the "aerospace contemporary" format of single sided pages for

cost effectiveness. The good Lord willing, and the Creeks don't rise, CNL-100 will come upon the scene sometime during July or early August if present planning works out.

Yesterday our long lost file folder reappeared. Ye Editor moved a file cabinet out from a corner position and disturbed its ten year slumber. The interruption caused no other effect than to cause the folder to slide out into clear view as if to say "I'm back." Covered with dust, more yellowed than before, brittle, even more dog-eared than I remembered, it just lay there and smiled at me.

I slowly picked it up and opened the cover and was greeted by voices from the grave. A letter from Walter Breen, several from Edward R. Barnsley, four from Richard Picker. The living are also represented - - A handwritten letter (dated March 26, 1976!) from a fellow living in Brewer Maine at 13 Longmeadow Drive, a Philip L. Mossman, who wrote "In regard to suggestions for articles, I would like to propose an idea to offer a series on the grading of colonial coppers. Speaking for myself (and perhaps many others) I do not see enough of them to get a good feeling for grading. Most dealers don't understand the colonial series and I need to rely on catalogs of recent auctions. Photograde has a section which I feel is inadequate. Would it be possible to offer a consensus of opinion from a group of experienced collectors regarding grading by type within a particular series? For example, I am not familiar with Vermonts, and the criteria applied to RR-10 or 11 are far different than for RR-13 or reverse RR-31. I feel that such a study would help to standardize the procedure. This also has its implications if one buys on the open market".

Our errant folder had spent a peaceful and quiet ten years between the wall and the back of a filing cabinet, and the world moved on.

JCS

